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THE LABOR CRISIS.

I.

THE Knights of Labor have undertaken to test, upon a large scale, the application of compulsion as a means of enforcing their demands. The point to be determined is whether capital or labor shall, in future, determine the terms upon which the invested resources of the nation are to be employed.

To the employer, it is a question whether his individual rights as to the control of his property shall be so far overborne as to not only deprive him of his freedom, but also expose him to interferences seriously impairing the value of his capital. To the employees, it is a question whether, by the force of coercion, they can wrest, to their own profit, powers and control which, in every civilized community, are secured as the most sacred and inalienable rights of the employer.

This issue is so absolutely revolutionary of the normal relations between labor and capital, that it has naturally produced a partial paralysis of business, especially among industries whose operations involve contracts extending into the future. There has been at no time any serious apprehensions that such an utterly anarchical movement could succeed, so long as American citizens have a clear perception of their rights and their true interests; but it has been distinctly perceived that this war could not fail to create a divided if not hostile feeling between the two great classes of society; that it must hold in check not only a large extent of ordinary business operations, but also the undertaking of those new enterprises which contribute to our national progress, and that the commercial markets must be subjected to serious embarrassments.

From the nature of the case, however, this labor disease must soon end one way or another; and there is not much difficulty in foreseeing what its termination will be. The demands of the Knights and their sympathizers, whether openly expressed or tem-

porarily concealed, are so utterly revolutionary of the inalienable rights of the citizen and so completely subversive of social order, that the whole community has come to a firm conclusion that these pretensions must be resisted to the last extremity of endurance and authority ; and that the present is the best opportunity for meeting the issue firmly and upon its merits. The organizations have sacrificed the sympathy which lately was entertained for them on account of inequities existing in certain employments ; they stand discredited and distrusted before the community at large as impracticable, unjust and reckless ; and, occupying this attitude before the public, their cause is gone and their organization doomed to failure. They have opened the flood-gates to the immigration of foreign labor, which is already pouring in by the thousands ; and they have set a premium on non-union labor, which will be more sought for than ever, and will not be slow to secure superior earnings by making arrangements with employers upon such terms and for such hours as may best suit their interests. Thus, one great advantage will incidentally come out of this crisis beneficial to the workingman, who, by standing aloof from the dead-level system of the unions, will be enabled to earn according to his capacity and thereby maintain his chances for rising from the rank of the employee to that of the employer. This result cannot be long delayed ; because not only is loss and suffering following close upon the heels of the strikers, but the imprudences of their leaders are breeding dissatisfaction among the rank and file of the organizations, which, if much further protracted, will gravely threaten their cohesion. It is by no means certain that we may not see a yet further spread of strikes, and possibly with even worse forms of violence than we have yet witnessed ; but, so long as a way to the end is seen, with a chance of that end demonstrating to the organizations that their aspirations to control capital are impossible dreams, the temporary evils will be borne with equanimity. The coolness with which the past phases of the strikes have been endured, shows that the steady judgment of our people may be trusted to keep them calm under any further disturbance that may arise.

It is quite evident that the back-bone of the strike is broken and that the worst is past, and that a general recovery of trade will assert itself, more or less, in spite of whatever obstacles may be raised by the labor organizations.

The labor movement inaugurated as a stupendous undertaking and announced to come off on the first of May, now past, has been a signal failure. The cause of justice and peace has achieved for itself new prestige sufficient to give it longevity, for the reason that the strike movement has been deprived of justification and right of existence.

Before the strike at the Missouri Pacific, Jay Gould was one of the most hated men in the country. He was anxious to have public respect and sympathy. He had made all the money he wanted, and was willing to spend part of it in gaining the respect and honor of the country. What his money could not do for him this strike on the Missouri Pacific has done. The sympathy and good-will which previously was with the strikers has been shifted from them to him. There is no doubt that the strikers selected the Missouri Pacific because it was a property with which Gould was known to be most largely identified, and because they thought that general execration would be poured out on him in any event. But instead of injuring Mr. Gould they have done him an inestimable service.

The timely and forcible action of Mayor Harrison, of Chicago, will put dynamiters and rioters where they belong, and thus divide the sheep from the goats in a very short time. If officials would sink political bias, the country would soon be rid of law-breakers and disturbers of the peace. As this plan has now been adopted, it will be far reaching in its effect, and stop mob gatherings, riotous speech-making and other such bad incentives, which recently have been so conspicuous in Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Louis, and elsewhere. The laboring classes, who are parties to the strike, will now have an opportunity to retire to their homes, where there will be more safety than in the streets—which will bring to them reflection; they will then soon become satisfied that they are the aggrieved parties; and the not unlikely result will be their turning upon the leaders who have deceived them.

There have been numerous vacancies created by the strikers voluntarily resigning. There has been no difficulty in filling these vacancies by those that are equally capable, if not more so, from other countries flocking to our shores. The steam ferry which connects this country and Europe has demonstrated this by the steamer that arrived in six days and ten hours' time from European shores to our own. As the interval between the down-trodden and oppressed operatives of the Old World and America is thus reduced

to hours Europe will quickly send to us all the labor we need to meet the emergency. Mrs. Gray, the Third Avenue Railroad Company and the Missouri Pacific, are the Generals that have won the victory. Strikes may have been justifiable in other nations but they are not justifiable in our country, and there is where the mistake was in organizing such a movement. The Almighty has made this country for the oppressed of other nations, and therefore this is the land of refuge for the oppressed, and the hand of the laboring man should not be raised against it.

The laboring man in this bounteous and hospitable country has no ground for complaint. His vote is potential and he is elevated thereby to the position of man. Elsewhere he is a creature of circumstance, which is that of abject depression. Under the government of this nation the effort is to elevate the standard of the human race and not to degrade it. In all other nations it is the reverse. What, therefore, has the laborer to complain of in America? By inciting strikes and encouraging discontent he stands in the way of the elevation of his race and of mankind.

The tide of emigration to this country, now so large, makes peaceful strikes perfectly harmless in themselves, because the places of those who vacate good situations are easily filled by the new-comers. When disturbances occur under the cloak of strikes it is a different matter, as law and order are then set at defiance. The recent disturbances in Chicago, which resulted in the assassination of a number of valiant policemen through some cowardly Polish nihilist firing a bomb of dynamite in their midst, was the worst thing that could have been done for the cause of the present labor agitation, as it alienates all sympathy from them. It is much to the credit, however, of Americans and Irishmen that, during the recent uprising of the labor classes, none of them have taken part in any violent measures whatsoever, nor have they shown any sympathy with such a policy.

If the labor troubles are to be regarded as only a transient interruption of the course of events, it is next to be asked—What may be anticipated when those obstructions disappear? We have still our magnificent country, with all the resources that have made it so prosperous and so progressive beyond the record of all nations. There is no abatement of our past ratio of increase of population; no limitation of the new sources of wealth awaiting development; no diminution of the means necessary to the utilization of the un-

bounded riches of the soil, the mine and the forest. Our inventive genius has suffered no eclipse. In the practical application of what may be called the commercial sciences, we retain our lead of the world. As pioneers of new sources of wealth, we are producing greater results than all the combined new colonizing efforts which have recently excited the ambitions of European governments. To the over-crowded populations of the Old World, the United States still presents attractions superior to those of any other country ; as is evidenced by the recent sudden revival of emigration from Great Britain and the Continent to our shores.

HENRY CLEWS.

II.

The method employed by the "Strikers" in this country, during the past ten years, and more especially in their recent strikes, is most unreasonable, violent, as well as disastrous, in its results.

The organization of labor was originally started to benefit the workingman by securing more pay for the same amount of work. All went well until designing men became the leaders. Some of the associations still retain the respect and support of the community at large : for instance, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, which is not only a benefit to every member, but is a benefit to the public at large as well.

There are traceable causes for the present state of affairs. Men read, or are read to ; their minds are influenced, pro and con, by what they thus learn. The press of a community molds the opinions of those of its readers who rely upon it as their only source of information, and who accept its utterances as truth. A paper of 100,000 circulation has, perhaps, an average of three readers to each copy, and can, therefore, by misrepresentations, mislead three hundred thousand people each day. It can pander to man's very worst instincts and passions ; or, on the other hand, it can bring men to a proper appreciation of their duty to each other and to what is equitable. Its influence for good or evil is incalculable upon those who depend upon it for their knowledge and guidance. The newspapers have had much to do with inciting dissatisfaction in the laboring classes.

The sudden accession of wealth by the few is another great

cause of dissatisfaction to the many. How, in two generations, a fortune of three hundred millions can be accumulated by one family, in legitimate business enterprises, is something the ordinary mind cannot comprehend, and the more the bread-winner ponders over it the more dissatisfied he becomes.

Corruption in high places is still another cause of public discontent. The decisions of judges, in cases involving millions, have in more than one instance been so manifestly unjust as to create a suspicion of bribery. Yet impeachment and removal, for such offenses, are rare.

Impurity in city, state and national governments is another cause of irritation among the laboring classes.

The questionable methods of amassing large fortunes, attributed by the press and public to certain prominent capitalists and financiers, must also be added to the list.

The laboring man has read about, and thought over, all these things. The newspaper has told him of the "pooling" of railroad earnings; of combinations in coal companies to advance the price of that commodity; of the consolidations of both corporate and private capital. As a natural consequence, he asks himself, "Why should not labor also organize?"

These Knights of Labor associations were unquestionably formed, at first, upon a proper basis, and tended to improve the condition of the laboring man. For a while, they accomplished this purpose; but, gradually, designing men, politicians, and educated tramps, came to the front. The so-called laborers, who never did and never intended doing an honest day's work in all their lives, succeeded in being made officers; lodges were multiplied until the membership numbered thousands and hundreds of thousands, until, now, they assume to control the price and the hours of all labor, both of corporations and individuals, and to dictate how the whole business of the country shall be run.

The strike of the car-drivers in New York city to reduce the hours of labor from sixteen and fourteen to twelve, was a righteous one, and met with the sympathy and support of all fair-minded men. On the other hand, the strike ordered by Mr. Irons, on the South-western railroads, because of the dismissal of one man, was ill-advised and most unreasonable. It threw 14,000 men (only 3700 of whom belonged to the Knights of Labor), out of employment, directly and indirectly, simply because the managers of

one of these roads, for what they deemed good and sufficient reasons, discharged this man. By this strike, a whole system of railroads, amounting to thousands of miles, was blockaded, and the entire business of a very large section of the country was brought to a stand-still. Many of the men who were then ordered out, are still idle, and the majority of them likely to remain so, as their places have been filled. The recent strike of the employees of the Third Avenue Street Car Company, of New York city, is another instance of a similar character. It is stated that, because there were eight men employed on the road who did not belong to the Knights of Labor, the strike was ordered. Nine hundred men gave up their means of subsistence because eight independent fellow-workers did not wish to join their order. They might as well try to compel all Freemasons to join the Odd Fellows. Since the riot, and the murdering of policemen and innocent people by dynamite bombs in Chicago, Grand Master Powderly and his lieutenants are anxious to pose before the public as law-abiding citizens, deprecating all violence.

But what roused the anarchists to action ?

A few more such strikes as those mentioned, and one-half the Knights of Labor in the country will be out of employment, to be supported by the other half. How long such a state of affairs can last, is a question which answers itself.

Some twenty years ago, when the Chinese Minister and his suite first visited England, they were found to be highly-educated, polished gentlemen. All England turned out to entertain them. The Queen bade them welcome, and her prominent noblemen did the honors, each in his own portion of the kingdom. The Minister was shown the beauties and wonders of London, taken to the ship-yards of the Clyde, and through the woolen mills of Manchester, where the finest machinery in the world is to be seen. Throughout their entire visit the Chinamen remained silent, merely observing, without commenting upon the machines that were shown them. Finally, a blunt old nobleman, who had become somewhat nettled by their silence and apparent indifference, determined to force some sort of expression from them. He asked what they thought of all this vast and complicated machinery and the results produced by it ? The Minister replied : " In my country we try to find work for two idle hands to do."

Perhaps Grand Master Powderly and his large army of submasters, instead of ordering strikes or allowing them to exist, had better take this lesson to heart and find work for "two idle hands."

Another story which fits the situation is one told of a certain General Wind who was neither a doer nor a lover of work—a sort of corner-grocery politician. He came puffing along Montgomery Street, San Francisco, one warm evening, with his arms full of sky-rockets. "Got our bill passed," he said, almost out of breath, to the ex-Collector of the Port, who approached him in surprise at his unusual effort. "Got your bill passed? What bill?" "Why our eight-hour bill—eight hours now constitute a day's work; the governor is going to sign it." "Well," the ex-collector replied, "that will take two hard hours' work off each day's labor that you and I perform." The general hesitated for a moment, and then dropped his arsenal on the sidewalk; for the first time in his life, he "saw himself as others saw him."

That is about the way some of the leaders of the Knights of Labor appear. So long as they can assess their brother workmen they will keep up the present labor agitations, or, at least, they will try to do so. The result must inevitably be a breaking up and falling to pieces of these organizations; for, as now managed, they are antagonistic to the constitution of the United States, and destroy the first principles of free government by restraining freedom of thought and action—reducing each man to a mere tool or machine in the hands of designing leaders.

Out of this break-up will come a laboring-man's organization founded upon the relation that should exist between the employer and the employed, and which will not only elevate and benefit the laboring man, but be approved of and supported by all classes of the community.

If Grand Master Powderly and the honest men he has associated with him in the management of the labor question, wish to benefit their fellow-workmen, they should listen to the advice of such good friends as desire to see them succeed in all just and reasonable demands; they should disband the present order, and start anew with an organization to be known as the Knights of Labor of the United States of America—admitting none to membership who are not American citizens, and ready to uphold to the uttermost the principles of freedom upon which our government is founded.

They should make the order and its members amenable to the laws as they exist, and, as General Grant said, "if there are bad laws, enforce them and have them repealed."

Under such an organization, "boycotting" would have no place. It has always been maintained that "boycotting" was a foreign method and did not belong to the United States. Yet it has been practiced in our midst for years. Not until within a few weeks—since the Chicago riots—have the newspapers come out boldly and denounced it as a crime, fearing, perhaps, lest their own papers should be subjected to a boycott.

No matter how mildly practiced, boycotting is a crime, a conspiracy, that should be punished without fear or favor. The laws in the different States are not stringent enough to meet this particular offense, and a general law should be enacted without delay, which should place those engaged in boycotting behind prison bars. This would speedily end the infamous practice. Let the remedy be universal and sweeping—the punishment the same in all States and Territories, and its application instantaneous.

The President of the United States should rise above the level of the politician and for once act as a statesman, and should request Congress to frame and pass a law to meet this particular form of crime, and one that would nip it in its bud; instead of sending roving commissions to "investigate" and to use their time in making political capital for themselves and local politicians.

The Anarchists, Nihilists, Socialists, and Communists must be disposed of by the police and the criminal courts, and these outlaws be made to realize that, while this country has many broad acres and square miles of unoccupied land, it has no room for the criminal classes of Europe, and will not tolerate them.

But a large portion of the Knights of Labor are hard-working, self-respecting men, who have no sympathy with law-breakers or boycotters; and these men, these skilled laborers, should have a proper recognition in all large corporations. There should be three classes of employees, divided according to length of service, general ability, etc.—say, apprentices, journeymen and master workmen. Those who have been faithful in the discharge of their duties for, say, fifteen years, should be paid higher wages than those who have been but ten years with the company, and the ten year men more than the five, and so on, down to the new employees.

When times are good, the country prosperous, and the companies

earning and paying dividends, the workmen should share in the good fortune, and when depression comes and the companies are losing money, these same men should consent to a reasonable reduction in their pay. In other words, the wages of the employees should bear their proper relation to the profits of the business. Men should not be discharged without cause. This and all other matters of dispute should be settled by arbitration committees, in which both employer and employed should be fairly represented. A temporary increase in the help employed might be necessary occasionally, but that might be a shifting class of workers who should be taken on and cut off as required.

To sum up the whole question, there must be a full and fair recognition of the rights of each, by both employer and employed; and the latter should be as much interested in, and as much a part of the corporation or company he works for, as its road-bed, rolling stock, mill or machinery.

Another suggestion: If one-half the money, now spent in carrying on strikes, were used for buying land for idle men to cultivate, and a bureau established for inducing the unemployed to go west and till mother earth—which, after all, is the real source of wealth, and the only dividend payer—this war between capital and labor would be materially reduced.

And Mr. Powderly with his followers, should protect the “little red school-house on the hill”—the cradle and nursery of our future citizens, keeping it free from religious and political influences. They have the same interest in promoting the education of the coming generation as the rich have, and must see to it that the representatives of the working classes do nothing intolerant, or calculated to shake the faith of the young in free thought, free speech and the right to live and let live which our Constitution gives to all.

RUFUS HATCH.

III.

RECENT events have brought the old problem of capital and labor from the sphere of speculative opinion within the range of practical discussion. What I have to say on the question, however, at the request of the editor of the *NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW*, must be more or less—and rather more than less—a new presentation of views that I have often hitherto expressed.

The nineteenth century will be set down in the world's history as the century of material progress, and in its great advance the United States takes the lead. In this rich world this nation stands the richest. The valuation of property in 1884 was 51,670 millions in round numbers; that of Great Britain, mother and rival, being more than six thousand millions less.

In the United States wealth has increased from 1850 to 1884 forty-three thousand two hundred and forty millions of dollars. According to Mulhall, since 1830 Great Britain has almost trebled her wealth; France has quadrupled hers; the United States has multiplied in wealth six fold, and at present we are growing nearly four millions richer at sunset than sunrise each day. The accumulations of Europe and the United States make up daily \$11,000,000, and the increase in population is 11,000 daily.

The great increase in population, large immigration from Europe, amounting in four years to over twenty-four hundred thousand people, overcrowding of cities, increase in manufacturing establishments, rapid absorption of public lands, consolidation of wealth, importation of contract labor, and other causes, are reproducing in nearly all the States many of the economic and social conditions of Europe. In the midst of great wealth, with powers of production unsurpassed, with material success unparalleled, there is, nevertheless, a social and industrial revolution.

I am, with others, to some extent an employer of labor. I take a deep interest in the labor question. To my mind it rises in importance above all others.

In Europe the discontent is due to two causes. One, the unfinished struggle on the part of the people for political freedom, which has been active since the eighteenth century; the protest against privileged classes, monarchy and imperialism. Learning that they are the source of all political power, the people want their will registered as the law that alone should govern them. This discontent has taken the form of nihilism in Russia; socialism in Germany; communism in France; radicalism in England; and *mano negra*ism in Spain. These nations have also to deal with another cause—the industrial question, involving the relations between employer and employed, the rate of wages and the proper distribution of wealth, which is the recurring question of all civilization, the problem of all the ages.

The nations of Europe are obliged to meet both problems at the

same time. This not only gives rulers great concern, but taxes to the utmost the ability and ingenuity of the wisest statesman. Some governments are making concessions to the people. In England classes are coming to an end, and henceforth the people will rule. The right of franchise has recently been conferred on two millions of English subjects. In other countries relief is sought through colonial expansion and immigration, and in Russia war is still invoked to subdue discontent and give imperialism repose for a season.

The founders of the great Republic have solved the political question and eliminated this element from the problem which we are now called upon to solve. Through their wisdom we have thus secured a government by the people and for the people, which has stood the test of foreign and civil war, shown its ability in dealing with the most complicated questions, and is about completing the first century of its existence. The nation now has to deal with the industrial problem. Struggling humanity awaits the action of the Great Republic, to see if, after giving man government on a Christian basis, it will give him industry on a Christian basis, and thus take the next great step in civilization.

The question presented by the present labor agitation is both industrial and social, and concerns, not the capitalist nor the wage receiver exclusively, nor the one more than the other, but the whole body of society and the State itself. It involves a great principle, in the presence of which individual interests become insignificant. No question more serious or of graver importance ever came before the American people, and upon its right settlement may not only depend the future of society, but ultimately the fate of the Great Republic.

It is not the part of wisdom to sit still and hope that social and industrial questions will adjust themselves without giving man any concern. Remedies only follow effort and preparation. We have advanced sufficiently under the inspiration of liberty and knowledge to know that our industrial system should be on a better basis, that strikes, violence, friction between employer and employed should cease, and, instead, there should be unity of interests, peace and harmony. In all reforms fair discussion and candid admission of the wrong has been the first, and conscientious effort to right it the next step. Reform and revolution begin with the people and never with rulers; rulers are contented with power and do not

want a change. The propositions that all men are free and equal, that slavery is wrong, that one man is as good as another before the law, were all opposed, and those who advocated them were looked upon in their time as agitators, dreamers, doctrinaires. So will those be now regarded and resisted who advocate a better industrial system, by which labor shall have more of the wealth it produces. But in a popular government, where the preservation of the State depends upon the people, no person can fail who advocates making the people wiser and better. That teacher, that leader, and that political party in this government will have success, that is found on the side of the people, working to elevate them, and better their condition.

But the citizen should never be led to believe, and the rightly educated citizen will not believe, that the government can directly or indirectly relieve him from the necessity of labor as a means of support, or from the need of economy and self-denial, as the best possible provision for his own future, and for the future of those dependent upon him.

The ordinary remedies, such as forcible division of property, nationalization of land, socialism and communism as generally understood, furnish no relief for existing evils. If all property were equally divided among the people and there was no change in the industrial system, those that have the most now would probably get a still larger share soon after the division. The right to property legally acquired, under the existing system, ought never to be disturbed. The question is to secure better distribution in the future. The time for labor to get its fair share is not after wealth has been created and distributed, but at the time of its creation. There is not and there never can be too much wealth in the world. All the wealth is needed that the ability and power of individuals and corporations can legally produce.

Wealth honestly acquired stands for frugality, thrift, self-denial, personal effort, and personal sacrifice. Labor stands for quite as much, and is equally deserving. They are the greatest forces in civilization, without which it would perish. Both alike require and should have in an equal degree all the aid, encouragement and protection that the law or individuals can afford them. If capital is in distress, labor is in trouble ; if it leaves a country, labor also disappears. Injury to capital through individual or State action is hurtful to labor. Labor can never gain any advantage from the oppression of capital.

Society has grown away from a true appreciation of the dignity and importance of labor. Adam Smith has said : " Not by silver and gold, but by labor, was the wealth of the world purchased." There was a time when there was no capital ; there never was a time during man's existence when there was no labor. In the beginnings of society, labor, as it is the real creator, receives all it produces, and the worker is treated with respect. In our complex civilization man could not exist without the fruits of labor. Everything that ministers to his wants, tastes, comfort and ease, is the result of labor. It is labor that gives him food, shelter and raiment, that transports him across continents and seas. " Labor wide as the earth has its summit in heaven."

Before any of the remedies offered for the solution of the industrial problem can avail, man and society must be made ripe through preparation, the preparation that comes from knowledge, wisdom, discipline and restraint, and the active work of the moral forces. The atoms composing the organism of society must be worked upon. Man individually must be made better and wiser, and selfishness conquered. Society grows only by slow degrees. We are in the infancy of the world. It is vain to hope for perfection at once—it is not to be expected. Something must be left for those who come after us. All this generation can hope to do is to begin the work at once, and if it takes one step in the right direction it will do well.

As a nation we are not without experience. A social and industrial question, in the early history of our country, took the form of slavery, and cast its shadow over our land, finally resting down in dense darkness over one-half of it. It grew noiselessly at first, but soon reached such dimensions that it not only threatened our national existence, but brought on the greatest war of modern times. To preserve the Union, the lives of nearly a million men were laid down and five thousand million dollars expended, while woe, misery and desolation were brought to unnumbered households throughout the land, particularly in the South. In the "red flame of war" slavery "went out," and four millions of chattels were raised from property to citizenship in the first Republic of the world. This was the greatest strain ever laid upon the government. It proved equal to the emergency, and society and civilization are better, and the government reaches nearer its ideal, for having been purged of the sin of slavery.

In the South the negro, fresh from slavery, without lessons in political economy, soon discovered that the wage system brought him no return, and he at once demanded an interest in the crops his labor produced. The landowner, the capitalist, at first objected, thought the negro unreasonable, but soon saw his way clear to grant the demand and take his former bondsman into partnership.

There is much for the capitalist to learn and do. He must learn the lesson that, as a matter of policy, it is safer and better to be just ; that by agreeing to divide profits with the worker upon some plan, he may make more in the long run, and that competition, supply and demand are not the only laws that should govern the industrial world. He must learn that wealth is only a trust, and out of the abundance that has come to him he can afford to spare a portion of it in deeds of charity and philanthropy, and in helping the deserving poor and unfortunate. There is also much for the worker to learn. He must know that the way to aid himself is not through violence and coercion, but through obedience to law ; that he can by proper effort do more to elevate himself and better his condition than can be done for him ; that thrift, frugality, and economy are needed ; that waste and intemperance are his worst enemies. The use of alcoholic drinks costs annually in the United States more than nine hundred millions of dollars, a sum that exceeds the combined annual earnings of all the railroads in the United States.

The object sought is not an ideal state where all will be equal in power, wisdom, goodness, position, wealth and influence. There will always be some to serve and some to lead. Absolute equality can no more exist in the social world, than all the peaks, mountains, hills and valleys can be reduced to a level in the physical world. The relief sought is not equality, but equity and justice. Some will always be wiser, better and stronger than others. Society, however, should be cast and formed on such lines that the good, wise and kind shall govern. Through the difficulties that environ the question, it is plain that some adjustment must be reached by which the war now raging between employer and employed, in the industrial world, must come to an end and be superseded by a system that will unite the interests of the employer and those of the employed. They must become and continue partners, instead of enemies, in the enterprises they operate. During the

process of the creation of wealth, there should be such a division between employer and employed, that the latter shall secure at least the three essentials of existence : food, clothing and shelter, and, in addition, means to subdue sickness, and by frugality and thrift, something over for the feebleness that grows as the years come on. He is entitled to this, and should have it. It is a modest and surely not an unreasonable demand. Nature has made provision for all her sons. This is an unanswerable reason why all who are worthy should have enough. The industrial system which does not permit the worthy to get enough is at fault. One of the greatest statesmen and orators of our times has said "wages are unjustly reduced, when an industrious man is not able by his earnings to live in comfort, educate his children, and lay by a sufficient amount for the necessities of age."

The methods which now seem to promise the best results in solving the industrial problem after knowledge becomes more general and society better prepared for their adoption, are—

Arbitration and conciliation.

Co-operation, and

Profit sharing.

Arbitration, as a method of settling differences between nations and individuals, has already made great triumphs and secured the best results ; but is a preventive rather than a cure. It has already prevented some strikes and violence, and promises in the future to do well. When employer and employed can lay down their irritations and grievances sufficiently to meet as equals, and discuss frankly and candidly the disputed issues before a Board of Arbitration selected by both parties, it is a great step gained. The best fruits of arbitration and conciliation will only be gathered after education and intelligence become more general. It has been hindered by the want of these, and in the future, as progress in both is made, it is not too much to hope that arbitration and conciliation will be the means adopted alike by nations and by individuals, to adjust all differences.

Western civilization has entered upon a great industrial and social revolution, the outcome of which will be many radical social changes now looked upon as impracticable if not impossible. One of these changes will be the adoption of an industrial system in which the wage feature, as we now understand it, will largely disappear.

Society even now demands a better system, where antagonisms between employer and employed will disappear, where there will be less strife and more security, less disturbance and more repose, less selfishness and more charity.

Profit sharing based on industrial copartnership seems to furnish the best means of uniting the interests of employer and employed in agriculture, manufacturing and other large business enterprises. Profit sharing is not new in this or other countries; it has been adopted in agricultural industry in portions of some of the Southern and Western States, and is growing in favor. The two forces employed in transacting business and producing wealth, are labor and capital. The question is to unite these forces in a way that the interests of those controlling them shall be the same, and not hostile, as now. Constant war between employer and employed has brought great loss to both. Such war can be and ought to be superseded by their becoming partners, so that both shall have an interest in the business in hand. The interest need not be equal at first. As a basis, it has been suggested, the capitalist should have for the use of his capital a percentage of the amount he contributes, and as against this, the worker fair wages. Then, after paying all expenses, the profits should be divided between the capitalist on one side, and the body of workers, according to their earnings, on the other. In addition, each worker should have the right, by leaving with the working capital of the concern such part of his earnings or shares as he may choose, to become a partner in the ownership.

But it is said, this is all theory, all sentiment; the capitalist has not in the past been found ready for any such arrangement, and will not in the future agree to it. This is a natural objection, and there are others, all difficult to meet; else the great question would not give society such concern.

There is, however, this answer. Already some capitalists in various civilized countries, partly as a matter of self-interest, and partly to do good to their fellow-men, have entered into just such copartnerships with satisfactory results. Moreover, the past and the present are growing unlike. Conditions are constantly changing. New elements are entering into the question. One is, that the worker is to be armed with knowledge, which is power, and particularly the power of intelligent combination. Just as the capitalists combine to do their work more efficiently, so workers will

combine to settle the terms upon which their labor shall be joined to capital for production.

There is an association in this country, composed of peaceable, honest, law-abiding and intelligent workers, who through their chief officer can, by a word, stop in a day all the locomotives on the trunk line railroads in the country. This is the power of combination, and where is there any other power equal to it? Without violence, and without violating any statute or principle of law, it can in a day paralyze the trade and commerce of a continent. How can it be resisted? The government has neither the right nor the power to resist it. Will any one undertake to say that such a power in the industrial world will not make itself felt in adjusting the interests between employer and employed? This power exists, is increasing, and must be considered in dealing with the industrial problem.

There is another element even more irresistible. It is the power of public opinion, which is reaching the conclusion that the laws of competition, supply and demand, as applied to the wage-receiver, operate unjustly; that the worker does not now, in many cases, get a fair share of what he helps to produce; that he is in effect a partner with the capitalist, though not treated as such. It is to be further considered, that the worker, who heretofore has had little to say, is helping now, through education, to make this public opinion, which in the end must stand as the sole judge and final arbiter of what is just and fair between him and the capitalist. In view of these new conditions, and for other reasons, the capitalist should seriously consider the best plan of uniting his interest with that of the wage-receiver. In admitting the principle of co-partnership, would he not make, in the way of increased profits, nearly if not all that he would be called upon to concede? The worker, having a direct interest, would do more and better work. The saving, by better care of property, tools and machinery, and by diminution in the cost of superintendence, would in the aggregate afford a large return to increase the profits. With co-partnership between employer and employed, the worker would feel he was more nearly the equal of the capitalist, his pride and ambition would be stimulated to better action, and the sense of inferiority he is made to feel by having no interest in the business would largely disappear. Unity of interest would prevent strikes, and the loss of time and wages, and the destruction of property incident to them.

Mazzini said:

"Every political question is rapidly becoming a social question, and every social question a religious question."

The aggressive civilization of to-day, the one that will conquer the world and supersede all others, the one that has proved the best for man, and that has lifted him up to higher plains than any other, is that built upon and shaped by the teachings of Christ. The best thoughts of all the best thinkers and writers upon the industrial problem have found nothing equal to the words, "love thy neighbor as thyself," "do unto others as you would have them do unto you." All correct philosophy, all sound teaching and reasoning, conduct us unerringly to these simple truths, which combine in themselves every essential principle necessary to the solution of the industrial problem. A solution based upon these would abide, because it would be founded on simple justice between man and man.

S. B. ELKINS.